4:Grajdanzev--25-26 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 168, 464, 656, 609, 177.16 Japan
636.16

"Since the occupation of the island, the Japanese authorities have forbidden the free immigration of Chinese. Coolies were [26] admitted in limited numbers each year for seasonal work but they were compelled to return to the mainland after the expiration of their contract. Besides the coolie class some Chinese could enter Taiwan for business purposes with the permission of Japanese consular authorities, but they remained Chinese citizens and were treated as foreigners. These two groups of Chinese make up most of the 'foreigners'. The fall in their numbers in 1937 and 1938 is connected with the Sino-Japanese war, for many then preferred to return to China and the total number of 'foreigners' is now comparatively small. Thus the purpose of the Japanese authorities —to exclude the Chinese from the island—has been accomplished, but this has been more than offset by the natural increase of the Chinese population."

4: Grajdanzev--44 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 161, 433, 464, 471

"Two thousand yen per ko (2.4 acres) is an apalling [sic] price where the daily wages of a worker are about one yen per day, and it prevents the landless from having a chance to become owners of land. However, the phrase 'population pressure' is not used here in the Malthusian sense. The question is not one of food--the island produces twice as much as the islanders consume--but of employment. Openings in industry are few; independent industrial enterprise is almost impossible because a plant worth a few hundred or thousand yen cannot compete with a modern factory. The only occupation left is that of the farmer--a customary occupation for the majority of the islanders. The rise in land values is a symptom of the growing difficulty of finding employment, and not of a growing scarcity of food."

4:Grajdanzev--53-54 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans -1-2
116, 243, 435, 458, 464, 177.43 Japan
636.43

"One of the important reasons for the stagnation of rice exports from Taiwan to Japan before 1922 was the unpalatable character of Taiwan rice. Through the efforts of the agricultural stations, however, a new kind of rice—horai rice—was introduced, which was acceptable to the Japanese consumer and had a higher yield than the native varieties. It commanded a lower price than the rice produced in Japan but a higher one than the local varieties. As may be seen from the preceding table [See p. 52, category 116--analyst] the average price per koku rose from ¥7.8 in 1915 to ¥22.5 in 1920. The latter year was one of post-War inflation, but 1925, a more normal year, brought an even higher price. On the basis of this rise in price and increase in acreage one might jump to the conclusion that the island farmers were much better off. Some of this increased wealth they would use to purchase Japanese manufactured goods and some to increase their own consumption of rice, so that both parties—the Japanese and the Chinese—would gain.

Japanese economists (1) share this view. In their opinion the opening of the Japanese

1. Especially Takahashi. He at one time was considered 'the brains of the Kwantung Army' and his works are widely known in Japan.

market to Taiwan rice brought a rise in the price of Taiwanese rice, especially after

the depression of 1929-32. The efforts of the government to raise prices, they say, were dictated by the difficult situation of the Japanese farmers. The level of rice prices in Japan was dictated by the costs of the Japanese farmers, and these prices brought windfall profits for the Taiwan farmers. It brought a rise in rice prices in Taiwan, increased wages and unwillingness on the part of some farmers to become workers in industry just because of these prosperous conditions. Industrialization of the island (which in the opinion of Takahashi is inseparable [54] from low wages) was retarded. Now the only way out is to introduce a rice monopoly in Taiwan in order to depress the price, using the resulting difference in Japanese and Taiwanese prices for budgetary purposes (2).

2. Takahashi, op. cit., pp. 73-87."

4:Grajdanzev--66-67 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 245, 255, 464, 471, 177.24 Japan
636.24

"Pineapples were cultivated in Taiwan before the occupation of the island by the Japanese, but only after the introduction of canning did the industry begin to expand rapidly. The fruit is raised on the hill slopes and thus does not compete with [67] cereals or sugar cane. The authorities estimate that more than 20,000 ko can be used for pineapple plantations, but the area under cultivation is now only 9,000 ko. Data on production are given below.

Pineapple Production in Taiwan

	1921	1935	1936	1937	1938
Area under pineapples (1,000 ko)	1.3	7.0	8.0	8.9	9.9
Crop (1,000,000 kin)	8.9	87.1	110.2	107.8	116.0
Value (1,000 yen)	367	2,626	3,129	3,115	...
Value of exports of (¥1,000) canned pineapples	865	7,306	5,857	7,600	10,620*

* Exports of canned and fresh pineapples.

Sources: Nogyo Nenkan; for 1938, Taiwan Jijo.

Production, chiefly of the plantation type using hired labor, is chiefly in Japanese hands."

15: U.S. Navy --23-24 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 441, 464, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The majority of Japanese immigrants go to the island for [24] administrative work or business management. Japanese officialdom some years ago arrived at the reasonable conclusion that since the increase in the Formosan population was proportionately so much greater than the increase of the Japanese, only a program of industrialization (with accompanying influx of Japanese technical labor) would serve to strengthen substantially the Japanese population of the island. Presumably, large numbers of Japanese have immigrated to manage the new technical establishments known to have been established on a fairly large scale in and around Takao, near Shinchiku, and elsewhere since 1941."

15: U.S. Navy --24 [3]
116, 166, 369, 464, 177.36
636.36

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"The industrial centers at Keelung, Shinchiku, Takao and Karenko have attracted many voluntarily. The better paid technical and supervisory personnel are Japanese, but the common labor is Formosan-Chinese drawn from local rural communities. There is evidence that the creation of a number of new air establishments has necessitated the development of servicing communities near them, either at the fields' borders or in nearby villages. The development of a town at Toshien, just north of Takao, is the most important example of a 'war town' on the west coast. Karenko's new industries and the hinterland development of villages on a Japanese pattern and with Japanese names are examples of a more permanent new development."

15: U.S. Navy --27 [4]
116, 592, 562, 304, 464

(no date) 1944

Formosans

"As in China, the older women who have sons are allowed to wield great influence within the home. Unmarried women and girls have few rights. Footbinding has been forbidden by the Japanese. There has been no attempt to limit female and child labor under even the most extreme conditions."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [6] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 563, 464

"In 1936 there were 81,589 workers employed in industrial enterprises having more than six workers or having a prime-mover. Of these 76,251 (93.5 percent) were Formosan-Chinese. The others were a few aborigines, a few Chinese nationals and Japanese overseers."

15: U.S. Navy--31 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 167, 464, 177.46 Japanese
636.46

"Labor problems are dealt with by the several offices of the Government-General. There is no 'Labor Bureau' as such.

Before the China 'Incident' there were few restrictions upon the employment of an alien within Taiwan provided the alien had entered the country legally, held a visa from a Japanese consul and was duly registered in Taiwan. All Chinese laborers entering were required to be licensed for labor by the immigration authorities. The government itself has attempted to employ local labor or semi-skilled and skilled labor from Japan. After August, 1937, steps were taken to end the immigration of Chinese, and in 1938 it was announced that all Chinese nationals who thereafter left Taiwan for any point outside of the Empire of Japan would automatically be barred from re-entry."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [7] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 464, 167, 177.16 Japanese
636.~~16~~

"The industrial program which has been developing since 1930 has received special stimulus since the China war broke out. Initially it had been retarded by an acute shortage of skilled or semi-skilled labor. To remedy this, a program for encouraging the migration of skilled and semi-skilled Japanese workmen from Japan to the island was inaugurated in 1937 by the Taiwan Government. The mining industry suffered most severely, as indicated by the fact that the percentage of increase in labor employed in the mines is greater than the percentage of increase in production."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [10] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 166, 464, 177.16 Japanese
636.16

"The labor shortage is especially acute on the east coast where major industrial developments are planned for the next few years. To alleviate the shortage a bureau has been set up which attempts to engage workers on the west coast, send them around to the east, and there settle them in advantageous places.

In January, 1939, an employment bureau organized in Karenko (capital ¥200,000), brought 500 labor immigrants from the west coast of the island and put them to work in the Japan Aluminum Company's factory. They were given land (1/2 acre to each house) and were required to raise hogs, for there is a shortage of pork on the East Coast. A government bureau plans to continue this resettlement work."

15: U.S. Navy--32 [11] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 482, 462, 464

"Hours are long and, because of the abundance of unskilled man-power, few draft animals and little machinery are used in transport. Women and children and men pull carts and furnish motive power for the narrow-gauge push-car lines. Only the women of the Hakka Formosan-Chinese work in the fields, however. Women and children are employed extensively in tea-picking and sorting and in the ubiquitous small household industries."

369 The
463 scarcity of employment has resulted in the increase in the number of "self-made" jobs, such as the keeping of small, temporary streetside shops and stands, peddling, "household industries" of various kinds, cart-pulling, and pedicab-operating. Marginal self-employment is the chief source of income for approximately one-fifth of the males 15-50 years of age in the seventeen areas surveyed in 1954 by the China Mission of the American Mutual Security Agency and a group from National Taiwan University. A large proportion of those marginally self-employed would shift to regular industrial jobs if such jobs became available.[4]

369 Because of under-employment and the
464 prevailing low wage-scale, women and children often take up various kinds of work in order to supplement family incomes. Many urban households augment their income by raising hogs or fowl. Overcrowding in urban areas, the increase in the number of peddlers, streetside stands, and the feeding of hogs and fowl in crowded districts create a very serious health and sanitation problem.

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3. (continued) today far exceeds the number reported under Japanese rule. See the section on Criminal Codes and Procedures in the chapter on Law and Order.

4. Raper, op. cit., p. 5.

464 Employment Situation. The population density of Formosa is the second highest in the world. In 1951 there were 667 persons to one square mile of land.[2] Because of limited economic resources and overpopulation, partial and under-employment are more prevalent than complete unemployment. Manpower appears to be rather poorly distributed, with the result that the rate of under-employment in some cases is unusually high. This is particularly true among civil service personnel and employees of various government-owned enterprises. Industrialization, though at a rapid pace, has not given rise to technological unemployment. Under the inflationary conditions generated in the economy, the number of workers has increased. As reported in the Yearbook of Labor Statistics 1953, the employment index in manufacturing rose from 100 in 1948 to 178.8 in 1952.[3]

465 Working Hours and Wages. The law provides that the regular work week consists of an eight-hour day, six days a week.

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2. Mutual Security Agency Mission to China, Chinese-American Economic Cooperation, Taipei, Vol. 1, No. 5, May 1952, p. 44. The population was estimated at 9.2 million.

3. International Labor Office.

467 Labor Organizations. Labor organizations include trade unions, farmers' associations, and fishermen's associations. Trade unions are weak and cannot be called unions in the real sense of the term, because the law does not provide for effective collective bargaining and also prohibits strikes, shut-downs, and walkouts of any kind during the present emergency period. The trade unions are organized under government supervision and tend to be used for carrying out government policies with respect to the workers. However, the educational and welfare activities performed by the unions should not be overlooked.

461 The Outlook of the Workers. Most of the farmers, as a result of the recent land reform, have become owner-cultivators and are looking forward to owning their own houses, sending their children to school, and enjoying better living conditions. On the other hand, because of limited employment opportunities and low wage levels, the non-agricultural laborers do not appear to face a very promising future.

464 The Future Labor Force. In 1950, the entire male labor force was estimated at 2.1 million. George Barclay states that the male labor force 25 years from now (1980) could amount to about 4 million, assuming that the

•464 natural rate of increase and emigration remain the same.[7] Since agricultural employment, which was about 1.2 million in 1950, is assumed to remain constant because of limited arable land, the number of jobs for male non-agricultural workers will have to be tripled by 1980, just to provide enough employment, to say nothing of an improved standard of living.[8]

II. FARM LABOR

241 Size of Farm Households and Labor Force. In 1952, the total rural population of Formosa amounted to 4.3 million, or about 680,000 farm households. The average size of a farm household at that time was 6.3 persons.[9] An accurage estimate of the size of farm labor is extremely difficult because women as well as children also take part in farming. Women also work in the field and dry harvested rice. Children may deliver food to the field where adult family members work. Farming in Formosa is a household responsibility, and a clear-cut

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7. A Report on Taiwan's Population, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 53-55.

8. The constant number of farmers at 1.2 million for the period 1950-80 is only an assumption. In 1954, the total number of farmers was reported to be 1.8 million.

9. Taiwan Provincial Government, Taiwan Agricultural Yearbook, 1953, Taipei, 1953, pp. 36-37.

241 Formosan farms in 1952 would reach 1.7 million man-equivalents.[12]

241 •464 Size and Mobility of Surplus Farm Labor. In Formosa there are two, three, and, in some cases, as many as four harvests per year. Therefore the frequency of planting and harvesting is high. The supply of family labor is usually constant. It is true that where there are extra young workers in the family, they often are attracted to the cities in quest of employment or to road construction, water conservation work, etc.; however, strong family ties usually cause them to return if city employment fails to materialize or when temporary construction jobs terminate. The high frequency of planting and harvesting accounts for the absence of prolonged periods of seasonal slack in farm work in spite of the constant supply of family labor.

Formosan farm labor in general is not mobile. Under the current laws regulating the lease of farms, the tenants, by virtue of their contracts with the land owners, have

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12. This figure comes close to the total agricultural workers of 1.8 million in September 1954 as reported in Taiwan: Land of Opportunity, Economic Stabilization Board, Republic of China. However, the latter estimate did not disclose how the figure was reached.

241 the right to cultivate the land for six years.[13]
464 This arrangement gives the farmers a feeling of security and tends naturally to tie them down to the land. As a result of the land reform, 76 per cent of the farmers are now owner-cultivators.[14] whose land ownership results in low mobility. However, it should be noted that all surplus farm labor can be made available for other employment, permanent or temporary.

As seen in the following table, the per chia farm population increased from 3.0 persons in 1929, to 4.3 persons in 1949, and 4.7 persons in 1952.[15] As of 1952, the size of surplus labor on the farms may be estimated at 68,000 man-equivalents.[16] This labor force is a surplus in the sense that the available manpower exceeds the actual need.

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13. Article V, Regulations Governing the 37.5 per cent Land Rental, promulgated on June 7, 1951.

14. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1954, Bangkok, 1955, p. 88.

15. The increase is principally through natural increase of the farm population.

16. The estimate is based on the JCRR survey Farm Income of Taiwan in 1952. The provincial average of 270 days requiring 3.21 man-equivalents applies to the production of all crops. Supposing that each farmer can work

(continued next page)

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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16. (continued) 310 days per year (less Sundays and holidays), each 3.21 man-equivalents will have done 40 days of work in addition to the 270 days required for farming. When this extra working manpower is multiplied by the existing farm labor force -- 1.7 million -- it will result in a farm surplus labor force of 68,000 man-equivalents. This is a conservative estimate because some farm families put in more than 400 working days a year in several regions and because farmers seldom take holidays other than national ones.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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III. INDUSTRIAL LABOR

464 **The Labor Force.** The Economic Stabilization Board estimates that the current industrial labor force engaged in all types of manufacturing and mining is in the neighborhood of 0.3 millions.[19] It is reported that nearly 20 per cent of the workers are women; one per cent, child workers.[20] The same report states that in 1951 the average age of male workers in public enterprises was 31 and that of female workers 24. If all the government enterprises were considered, 25 per cent were within the age bracket of 21 to 25 years.[21]

463 **Composition of the Labor Force.** Industrial workers are heavily concentrated in the Taipei, Tainan, and Kaohsiung areas on account of the existence of coal mines and textile factories in the north and of chemical and machinery manufacturing factories in the south. The distribution of workers according to the county (hsien) follows:

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19. Ibid., p. 33.

20. Free China Labor League, T'ai-wan Lao-kung Yün-tung Kai-k'uang [General Condition of the Labor Movement in Taiwan], Taipei, 1952, pp. 7-8.

21. Ibid.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

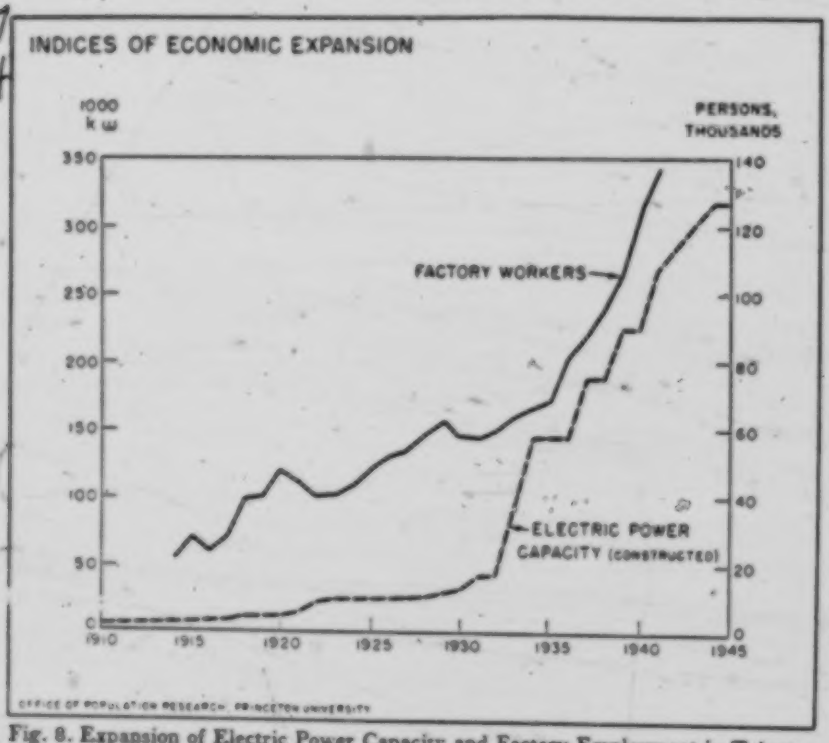

Fig. 8. Expansion of Electric Power Capacity and Factory Employment in Taiwan, 1910-1945.

than material forms of capital. Japanese in the past had never cultivated an adequate fund of these among the Taiwanese. The same mechanisms which had served so well in channeling a large part of the total product each year toward desired uses had suppressed any opportunities for industrial employment that might attract Taiwanese who had administrative skills. What the Japanese themselves referred to as the "industrialization of Taiwan" was nothing but a corporate superstructure placed on an agrarian base. This was not capable of diffusing an industrial culture thoroughly among the general population, because it had been devised to prevent this very thing.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

659 462 a matter of course within the households that finally make use of them—items which in industrial societies are ordinarily purchased in the market. In these activities women are occupied often from childhood to old age, and sometimes more vigorously than men. It is this economy of the household, and not real inactivity, that utilizes the efforts of females in useful pursuits but provides against their holding extra-familial occupations.

We can be certain that a goodly portion of the work done in Taiwan was concealed in the activities of women. When such is the case, estimates of manpower based on occupational data are necessarily distorted, especially when these data have been compiled without overt care to this problem. Here the only feasible procedure in measuring manpower is to exclude altogether this important segment—womanpower—and to concentrate only on the "male labor force" as representing the dominant working patterns of the population.

659 Even within the male population, however, not all of its members are eligible or able for permanent employment. Close to half of all males in Taiwan—practically all those without occupations—were consistently of ages in which employment was not customary. Age always has a great deal to do with whether a person follows an occupation or not, and often with the sort of work he may perform. Tasks that are looked upon as useful are commonly ones that infants and the aged, for example, lack the capacity for doing. In between these extremes, some males of certain ages are excluded from the labor force when sufficient value is attached to other activities such as school attendance, acquisition of special skills, patriarchy, or infirmity—either due to priority of the competing activities themselves (regardless of who performs them) or due to the kinds of persons involved.

These various factors determining employment are so closely associated with age that at any one time almost all of the men of young and middle adulthood in a population have some occupation. The exclusions are concentrated in the years of childhood and old age. For this reason it is meaningful to speak of the "population of working ages," and often more information is available about them as a whole than about the labor force itself.

The Labor Force in Taiwan

162 464 Let us continue this line of inquiry by inspecting the portions of the population that are employed in relation to sex and age. With

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

some idea by this time of what the census standards of employment purported to be in Taiwan, one should then see how they are performed in practice. As a first step it is interesting to compare the occupied portion of the population with a corresponding group elsewhere. To judge from the proportions of men occupied by age in various countries—and under varied kinds of census administration—the extent of employment is approximately the same among the recorded populations of the world.[12]

In 1930, for example, these proportions in Taiwan closely resembled in most ages those for the United States, when a similar standard ("gainful occupation") was used in this country to assign status in the labor force. In Table 17, the figures for these two countries were nearly alike among all men above age 25, though they were markedly higher in Taiwan at younger ages. The parallel does not imply that "work" amounted to the same thing among men in both populations. Nor does their divergent use of young men suggest that Americans were necessarily more prone to idleness than Taiwanese. The chief significance of Table 17 comes rather from showing that work as defined for census purposes commands the energies of practically all of the young adult men in both populations,[13] despite the wide differences in economic organization between the two countries.

Granted the basic similarity, the principal difference in Table 17 deserves comment. In the first place men in Taiwan evidently begin to do regular work much earlier in life than in the Western world. Extension of general education into the years of later adolescence, as everyone is aware, is a recent and modern phenomenon and confined to a few countries, for it has just recently been felt to be indispensable to the skills that this new world requires. The luxury of being able to maintain these services is not readily appreciated without contrasting it with less fortunate areas. In Taiwan, as in most of Asia, practically everyone destined to have an occupation was already employed before age 20. Many, not shown here, even entered a permanent occupation, in which they remained, before reaching age 15.[14]

[12] Notestein, Frank W., et al. (1944), p. 118.

[13] It is interesting to note that the differences made by different criteria—i.e., more refined labor force measures—are slight, if not trivial, for our purposes. Cf. Durand, John D. (1948), Appendix A, pp. 197-200.

[14] The census data showing dependency of childhood up to 1930 do not tell the whole story. In the latter 1930's the Japanese made concessions toward the extension of schooling, until by 1940 Taiwan was perhaps better in this regard than most Asiatic countries

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TABLE 17.

162 462 464 THE LABOR FORCE IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, TAIWAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Proportions of All Persons in Each Age Group Who Had an Occupation, Male and Female, 1930

Age Groups	Taiwan (Taiwanese Only*) All Occupations	Taiwan (Taiwanese Only*) Occupied outside Agriculture	United States (All Groups) All Occupations
	Males		
15–19	85.4	24.4	47.8
20–24	96.4	33.6	89.9
25–34	97.5	35.9	97.3
35–44	97.3	33.9	97.6
45–54	93.8	29.0	96.5
55–64	81.8	21.6	90.2
65+	54.7	11.9	58.3
	Females		
15–19	38.0	5.6	26.6
20–24	32.0	4.6	42.4
25–34	31.2	5.2	27.8
35–44	31.2	5.7	22.6
45–54	23.3	4.4	20.4
55–64	13.4	3.0	16.1
65+	4.3	1.3	8.0

* Domestic servants among the Taiwanese, male and female, have been excluded.
Sources: U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *15th Census of the United States, 1930, Population*, Volume V, *General Report on Occupations*. Chap. 4, Table 2.
Taiwan—Census of 1930, Prefectural Volumes, Table 15.

162 462 For reasons advanced above, data on occupations for women are less satisfactory. In Table 17, roughly one-third of the women in most ages up to 45 reported some occupation in 1930; but practically all stated that they were "farmers."[15] While superficially these figures appear to make a good showing against the data for the United States, the resemblance is misleading. In fact, on the basis of this information

besides Japan itself. But these events occurred too late to have much effect on the ages of starting work.

[15] Even for the few women who acknowledged occupations outside of agriculture, the specific kinds of work that occupied the bulk of this group are, suspiciously, the very ones that are usually conducted in households. For example, most of the "industrially employed" women were engaged in handicraft production (wood and bamboo articles, food processing, Panama hats) typically conducted on a household scale.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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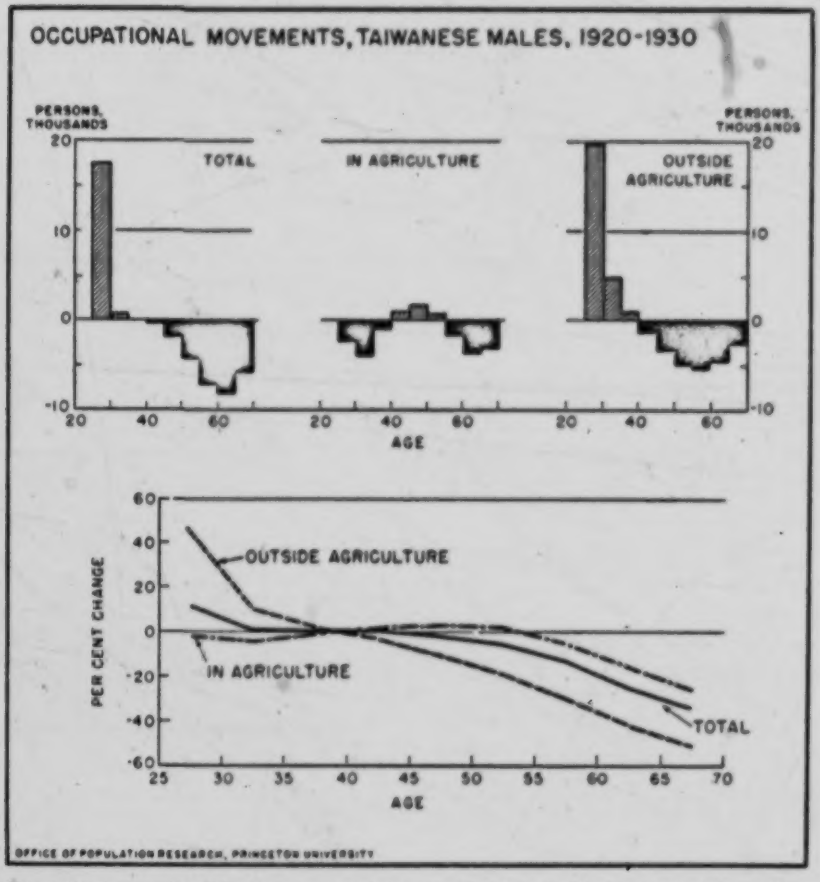

Fig. 13. Occupational Movement of Taiwanese Males, 1920-1930. Net "Gain" or "Loss" Inside and Outside of Agriculture, and in the Total Labor Force.

so as to balance each other; clearly few men began or left off work completely (except through death) in these ages, and what movement there was must have been limited to transfers from one occupation to another.

464

It was established above (Table 17) that the maximum degree of employment was reached by age 30. It follows from these data that in this decade almost everyone who was likely in his life-time to acquire an occupation had already done so at age 20.[21] By similar

[21] A small part of this pattern may possibly be a peculiarity of the unusual decade involved. The census of 1930 was taken during a world depression, which had a brief but severe effect in Taiwan. There are hints that this was reflected slightly in the pro-

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

464 reasoning, 90 per cent of all men who were going to become employed by 1930 must have held occupations already between ages 15-19 in 1920: since only 10 per cent of the employed survivors to this group had begun their employment later than 1920, though by 1930, at ages 25-29, the ones with occupations already accounted for almost all the population in that age.

One takes for granted that the boundary lines between being occupied or not were somewhat indistinct among young men entering and old men leaving the labor force. Even so, Fig. 13 gives a picture of the age incidence of retirement just as interesting as its evidence for the stability of employment through earlier adult ages. Starting with the men who reached ages 45-49 in 1930, the rate of exits from occupations over the preceding 10 years rose sharply with advancing age. Of the Taiwanese aged 55-59 in 1920, more than half the survivors had retired before age 70. Earlier ages exhibit what appears to be a gradual progression toward this rate of retirement. This would hold true even if we assume that the world depression in 1930 forced older men out of the labor force more rapidly than in normal times. The pattern would remain the same; only its age spacing would change.

These findings tend to conform to what the earlier chapters would lead one to expect. They do not provide much new information (except by way of verification of the procedure that is being used). Of greater significance are the patterns that hold among the occupations that make up the labor force. This is shown in Fig. 13 where the bars also represent the numbers of Taiwanese males "gained" or "lost" in 1930 as compared with 1920.

463 Agriculture is the most striking of these. There was an actual loss of several thousand young adult men who had been farmers between the ages of 15 and 30 in 1920. This does not imply that agriculture was failing to recruit new farmers. The losses in part reflect the fact that males undertook occupations at younger ages (at least in their census returns) in farming than in other pursuits. Agriculture gained many of its entrants *before* age 25 (the youngest age shown in these charts); by age 25 it may or may not have continued to re-

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portions of older men claiming some occupation in 1930. Despite the tendency of the "customary occupation" census concept to resist inroads of short-term unemployment, these proportions are slightly lower in advanced ages than those in previous censuses. Even so, the "true" figure might make the proposition above even stronger, by revealing "normal" retirement to have been slower than Fig. 13 suggests.

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

463 to the rest of the economy in their young adulthood, and takes them back after their years of greatest contribution are past.

Manpower and Age Composition of the Population

464 Unfortunately for the conclusions of this chapter and the previous one, no population data on employment of any consequence have been published for Taiwan since the census of 1930. All that exist for the very interesting period leading up to World War II are the economic statistics reviewed in Chapter II (of quality far inferior to census figures), undisciplined travel accounts of a few foreigners, and the quasi-official reports of the Japanese themselves—half secretive and half boastful.

For this reason there is special value in observing the size of the population of working ages, from which the labor force is drawn, and its development as a component of the total population of Taiwanese. Requiring only detailed information by age and sex, this important measure can be derived from more recent census materials which were not published with elaborate occupational tables. It can be carried up to 1940 with exact figures, and extended beyond this date by the use of special assumptions.

All of the foregoing tables in this chapter have been arranged so as to represent occupational behavior of Taiwanese within certain age strata. This was a device for excluding temporarily two closely related aspects of labor force study: the age structure of the population at any one time, and trends in the size of different age strata. Insofar as these factors help to fix the supply of labor and the amount of dependency in a society, they exert a profound and subtle influence on economic activities.

At a given moment, among male Taiwanese some form of occupation was almost universal in most of the span between ages 15 and 60. Narrowing attention to the men between ages 15 and 64, as the "population of working ages"—to follow a common convention—will obviously include all ages of extensive employment. Not many boys younger than age 15 held occupations, and few people survived at all after age 65 (not all of these remaining occupied). Therefore, the group of men aged 15-64 also contained practically all working males.

Viewed as representing their region in the world, the Taiwanese are not one of the "major" populations of Asia. Consequently, we are free to analyze their composition without introducing the idea

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADl Formosa ADl

of vast numbers, and the global problems that these tend to raise. Compared with some of these more familiar examples, in Asia and

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TABLE 18

AGE COMPOSITION OF TAIWAN AND SELECTED OTHER COUNTRIES, *CIRCA* 1930

Both Sexes

	Percentages of Total Population in Each Age Interval						
Age	*Taiwan**	*Japan*	*British India*	*U.S.S.R. (incl. Ukraine)*	*United States*	*England & Wales*	*Sweden*
0–14	41.0	36.6	39.9	37.2	29.4	23.8	22.1
15–39	39.0	38.3	41.1	41.3	41.2	40.4	41.7
40–64	17.5	20.3	16.8	17.5	24.0	28.4	27.0
65+	2.5	4.8	2.2	4.0	5.4	7.4	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Taiwanese only.

Source: Institut International de Statistique, *Aperçu de la Démographie, 1929-1936*. The Hague, 1939. Table 7.
Statistical Summary of Taiwan, Table 58.

the West, Taiwan ranked with India, a land of proverbial "population problems." Together these two areas illustrate an ironic historical circumstance: those areas that for other reasons are most handicapped by poverty are also the ones with the greatest burdens of dependency, and with the smallest proportions of their people in working ages. The differences are outstanding in the ages of maturity, near the range between age 40 and age 65, when Western nations have been in a position to make far better use of the accumulated training and experience among their people (see Table 18). While next to nothing is directly known of its earlier demographic history, Taiwan was already in this situation when it entered its census era, and was placed still more at a disadvantage as time went on.

Through time, the population of these various ages in Taiwan has not shifted so signally as it has grown. From 1905 to 1940, each of these age strata almost doubled in size. In the same period, the important span 15-64 underwent slow but steady changes in relation to the rest of the population, older and younger. Its share in the total was reduced, though its numbers grew by more than one-half. On the other hand, the proportion of aged (always small) did not greatly change, though their numbers doubled. But most signifi-

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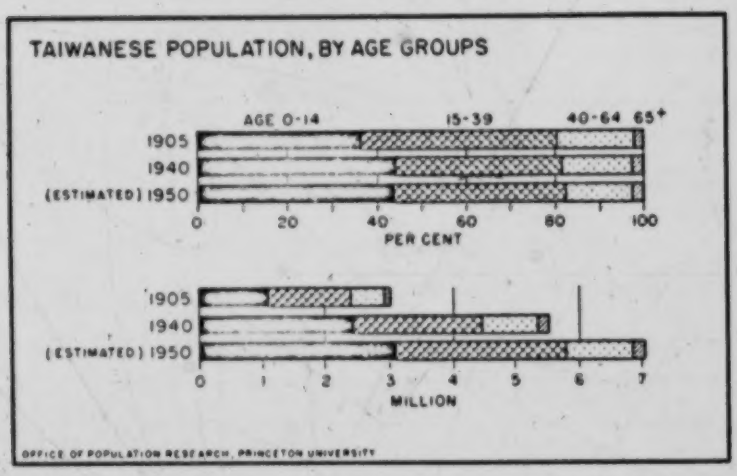

Fig. 16. Taiwanese Population in Working and Dependent Ages, 1905, 1940 and Projected to 1950.

cantly, infants and children, represented by all persons under 15 years of age, expanded into an ever larger part of the total population (see Fig. 16).[26] This young and dependent segment did not advance its share in rapid strides; only by 1940 did it reach 44 per cent of all Taiwanese. A glance at Table 18 will show how extremely this departs from the composition of populations in industrial countries. There is little reason to suppose that the trend would have continued much further, even with the large numbers of births that contributed to it each year and the efforts at health control already sponsored by the Japanese.

On the purely hypothetical assumption of continuance of mortality and fertility through the 1940's as in the period 1936-1940, a bar has been added to Fig. 16 for 1950. It gives an indication of what these same circumstances might have produced in ten more years. As an actual estimate it is of no value, since conditions did not in fact remain so favorable after the end of Japanese rule. The resulting figures are nevertheless of interest, for they suggest that without new improvements in longevity this trend might have progressed already as far as it could go.[27]

[26] Fig. 16 is based on data for males and females combined, since when it comes to dependency of childhood and old age both required support. It is implicitly assumed that women in prime adult ages are not dependent in this same sense.

[27] It is interesting to note that the age composition of Taiwanese in 1940 was almost identical with that of the "stable population"—i.e., the age composition that would

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With continuance of these demographic conditions—and infinite resources for their support—the Taiwanese could probably have expanded in this same scale forever. But, while the pattern of occupational movement that we have observed was also a stable one that did not contain many elements of change, it could not have perpetuated current conditions indefinitely, any more than the actual growth has been allowed to continue without setback. The phenomenon of growth itself was an underlying factor of instability for the society. If the Japanese had remained in control, they would have been forced to recognize the problem sooner or later, and either provide additional opportunities for livelihood or risk disruption of their program from other sources. Their efforts toward industrialization were too small and too selfish to have made any difference in the result.

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have resulted from indefinite persistence of the fertility and mortality rates of the same period, 1936-1940. The rate of increase implied by the structure of this hypothetical stable population is somewhat higher than that which was actually recorded at the time.

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592 562 This uniformity was due in large measure to the fact that almost all women were members of their households by virtue of kinship, and hardly any of them stayed as non-relatives in the families of others. True, slightly over 20 per cent of all persons who were counted as outsiders were women; but this still did not amount to a large *number*, and it has already been pointed out that many must have been wives or children of men in this status.

Though on the average they were found in nearly equal numbers with men, there is no chance that women occupied the same positions in their families. Chinese ideas of propriety in behavior are never more consistent than in creating a distinction in familial roles based on a person's sex. The patriarchal ideal of authority in Taiwanese families is illustrated by the infrequency with which women became heads of households. Among those of the household heads who were employed (that is, practically all of them), men exceeded women by nine to one; in all but seven per cent of these households it was reported that the affairs were managed by men. In the minority of families where the head was not employed, this responsibility fell almost as often on women as on men—45 per cent of these households were managed by women. The only way for most women to accede to this position was through the death of their husbands. Therefore the concentration of female heads of households among the households with no apparent source of family support most likely represents those widows who were not taken in by their husbands' relatives.

Family Membership and Employment

592 464 Questions of livelihood, which are important to all peoples, are treated with a particular seriousness by Chinese. They are usually regarded as questions of household management, and thereby become closely interlocked with the ideas and values of the family system itself. When this happens, a large part of a society's economic life is likely to be sealed up in self-sufficient family units, and to lack the aspect of inter-dependence that characterizes the activities of individuals in the industrial regions of the world.

The households of Taiwan were the scene of most of the effort that went into providing support for the population, and hence are the most appropriate place to look for traces of its organization. A good indication of the contribution to household support in different classes of households is given by the extent of regular work by

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male residents. The work of women may have been equally important; but the indices for assessing it have the same shortcomings in making such comparisons that they had in measurement of the labor force—female labor was almost entirely contained within household units, and the census statistics do not represent it accurately at all, but only the willingness to acknowledge and report it as such.

Work by men was looked upon more readily as maintaining the household in relation to the external society, despite a similar tendency for it to be in actuality an internal matter. Male family members seemed to have regular employment in almost the same proportion regardless of the occupation of the head of the household. Slightly over 60 per cent of them reported some occupation in 1920 if the head is counted. This, of course, is only what is implied by the findings in earlier chapters, for the figure is close to that fraction of the entire male population in working ages. Although the average size of family varied among different groups, the share of family members' services taken by full-time work did not. The one exception to this rule large enough to appear in Table 54 occurred in families engaged in commerce, which for some reason held more non-employed men than families in any other non-agricultural type of work.[18] But if leisure was supported to any appreciable extent in Taiwanese families, there is little sign that it was concentrated in any particular field of livelihood.

It will make the comparison more complete if we also adopt an alternative view of dependency. Since in households with head occupied the head by definition cannot be a dependent, it is only fair to compare family members in commercial and other households after the family heads are excluded. The remaining males are the ones whose conduct is subordinate to the authority of the head, and who represent the part of the population most likely to have leisure status where a family's wealth will permit. It would appear that farming families, which had more of these subordinate members to support, put their services to much greater use. Only 35.5 per cent of subordinate males in commercial households reported employment in 1920 (35.9 per cent in purely family households). Other families tended to be distributed in between (see the columns "Excluding Head" in Section B, Table 54).

[18] Whatever the explanation for this peculiarity, it stemmed from an unusually *large* number of non-occupied men rather than abnormally *few* who had an occupation, since commercial families were uncommonly large in every respect as compared with other non-agricultural households.

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Families with unoccupied heads, which in several respects formed a class by themselves, were not so distinct when it came to employing their subordinate male family members. When the head is included in the computation, the fact that he (or she) was not occupied gives an appearance of dependency far greater than that found anywhere else in the population. Excluding the head (in Table 54) reveals that more of the remaining family members were employed than in any other field of livelihood except agriculture. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing what sorts of work they did; if

TABLE 54

EMPLOYMENT AND DEPENDENCY IN TAIWANESE HOUSEHOLDS, 1920

Male Family Members Who Reported a Regular Occupation, and Those Who Reported None, by Type of Household

A. *Average Male Family Members Per Household, Occupied and Dependent*†	*Households of All Types*	*Purely Family Households*	*Mixed Households*
All Households			
a. Occupied	1.74*	1.74*	1.84*
b. Dependent	1.15	1.13	1.43
Households with Head Occupied			
a. Occupied	1.85	1.84	1.96
b. Dependent	1.11	1.09	1.36
Households with Head Not Occupied			
a. Occupied	0.86	0.86	0.85
b. Dependent	1.49	1.46	2.04
Head Occupied in Agriculture‡			
a. Occupied	2.01	1.99	2.32
b. Dependent	1.18	1.15	1.66
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture			
a. Occupied	1.52	1.53	1.48
b. Dependent	0.97	0.97	0.97
Head Occupied in Manufacturing			
a. Occupied	1.46	1.45	1.47
b. Dependent	0.89	0.89	0.90
Head Occupied in Commerce			
a. Occupied	1.56	1.57	1.49
b. Dependent	1.11	1.11	1.13
Head Occupied in Other Non-Agricultural Occupation			
a. Occupied	1.54	1.54	1.47
b. Dependent	0.93	0.94	0.81

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TABLE 54 (continued)

B. Per Cent of Male Family Members Occupied	Households of All Types		Purely Family Households		Mixed Households	
	Including Head	Excluding Head	Including Head	Excluding Head	Including Head	Excluding Head
All Households	60.2	45.8	60.6	46.1	56.3	42.4
Households with Head Occupied	62.5	45.6	62.8	45.8	59.0	43.1
Households with Head Not Occupied	36.6	47.7	37.2	48.7	29.5	36.2
Head Occupied in Agriculture	63.0	48.0	63.4	48.2	58.3	45.7
Head Occupied Outside Agr.	61.2	38.4	61.3	38.6	60.4	36.4
Manufacturing	62.0	40.0	62.0	40.2	61.9	38.4
Commerce	58.4	35.5	58.7	35.9	57.0	33.0
Other‡	62.3	39.3	62.2	39.3	64.5	40.3

* Household heads with no occupation are of course not included. All figures of average persons per household have been rounded, and sometimes will not add to the totals that are shown in other tables; they also will not always produce the exact percentages shown in the lower section of this table.

† "Dependent" refers to persons reporting no occupation in the census.

‡ "Agriculture" includes Forestry.

Source: From *Census of 1920, Detailed Tables*, Table 36.

many of the unoccupied heads were widows who had not re-married, it may be surmised that these households probably had representatives in most occupational groups.

But the most pervasive distinction in engaging in work or leisure within families appeared in those that incorporated outsiders to assist in the work of the household—the mixed households—which made less use of labor by family members than households consisting of family members only. In all but one of the occupational classes of Table 54, employment was less common among members of the families living in mixed households, whether the heads are counted or not. Households with heads not occupied were no exception. Even their subordinate male family members were put to work less often—when not dependent solely on their own resources of manpower, such families supported the greatest amount of leisure that can be found in any of these groups.

Differences of Occupational Status

The variation that these data show in the composition of family groups was recorded at a date before any strong force of Japanese

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listed as employees, who allowed family members to be released from regular work.

Changes Between 1920 and 1930

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The decade between 1920 and 1930 produced little change in household or family structure as far as size or other observable features were concerned (see Table 46, above). Families on the average became slightly larger than before, but chiefly by additions to their dependent children and possibly older relatives. When the data for 1920 are put back into terms appropriate for comparison with 1930 (that is, by replacing the single-person households in the computation of averages), it appears that the growth of households was distributed almost uniformly in different portions of the population—it is necessary merely to add the figure of about 4/10 to the average size of households in each major occupational group in 1920 to approximate the size found in that group in 1930. The tables showing household composition were much abridged in 1930, and permit only restricted comparison. In many of the features already used to describe their structure in 1920, however, households in 1930 were practically the same. They were made up almost entirely of family relatives; and presumably the contrasts between mixed and purely family households were unaltered. The same uniformity in sex composition prevailed among the various classes of occupations, with the same exception in the case of households with non-occupied heads. Since these data contribute nothing to the discussion, they have not been reproduced here.

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There is more to be gained by comparing economic activities of family members. The burden of dependency was on the average slightly increased between 1920 and 1930, as we have seen (Table 46, above). By 1930, households representing all the main sources of support (i.e., occupations of heads) had smaller proportions of male family members occupied than 10 years before.[18]

Agricultural households seemed to share less in this rise of family dependency than others (see Table 56). In part the divergence may be because peasant agriculture is better able to provide a secure livelihood for many who could not find steady employment elsewhere—especially young boys and older men. We have found, in

[18] How the added burden was shared between households of only family and mixed households cannot be ascertained, though the similarity of other patterns leads one to presume that this one remained nearly the same as in 1920. This was one of the items of detail omitted in publication of the 1930 census.

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TABLE 56

CHANGES IN THE EXTENT OF MALE EMPLOYMENT IN TAIWANESE FAMILIES
1920 TO 1930
(Persons Living Alone Are Included)

	Per Cent of Male Family Members Occupied, Including Head	
	1920	*1930*
All Households	61.0	56.9
Households with Head Occupied	63.4	59.6
Households with Head Not Occupied	36.6	36.6
Head Occupied in Agriculture*	63.4	60.0
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture*	63.4	58.5

* The remaining occupational groups are not shown for comparison here, because the tables published in 1930 followed a different scheme of classification for households—according to the "*industry*" of the heads. The category "Agriculture" has been made comparable in 1930 by taking those engaged in "Cultivation" only. (A special table published in 1930 shows that almost everyone in this category was also classified as having an agricultural "occupation"; workers in "Forestry," of course, are not included.) The group with head "Not Occupied" is the same in both occupational and industrial classifications.

Source: From *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island*, Table 5. Data for 1920 from preceding tables.

Chapter IV, that agriculture in Taiwan exerted its greatest attraction compared with other occupations for men of these ages. Thus men of these borderline ages probably were reported as employed in agriculture, and as dependents elsewhere, and some of this divergence may be simply a difference of standards rather than of work that was performed. But farming families had more use for the services of these people (and of those with physical disabilities); it is possible that the greater readiness to recognize these services—of women as well as of men—reflects their actual importance in contributing to the support of their households.

This apparent trend toward creating a gap between agriculture and other parts of the society was not a very impressive one. It is worthy of attention chiefly because it stands alone; there are no other new patterns of dependency to be found between 1920 and 1930, since the other occupational categories cannot be matched at both dates. And, more important, insofar as there was a leisured group or class among Taiwanese, it was still not to any marked extent occupationally aligned.

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Work Within the Household

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People's working activities play a part in familial life that is larger than merely the support that they provide. Since they are ordinarily not carried on in isolation, these activities supply one of the connections between the family and the remainder of the society. In industrial countries they sometimes appear to dominate this connection, and have become one of the criteria that fix a person's station in society. In agrarian countries it tends to be the other way around; the working roles of most adults are carried on as adjuncts to their other familial roles, and depend on kinship obligations for coordination. This, for example, is almost completely the case in household enterprises, and holds true in varying degrees for such wider market transactions that exist.

In Taiwan, the productive effort of most people was in fact confined to work pursued in cooperation with other family members and organized as household duties. This has already been demonstrated in a negative way as far as women were concerned—the occupational statistics, in failing to show very much about the work of women, do confirm that they were scarcely ever employed outside of their households. In household enterprises—and practically all farming was conducted on this basis—the head of the household was almost automatically the chief participant. However, since the statistics give no positive answer in the case of women or household heads, it is in the activities of subordinate male family members who were employed that we have the best indication of the concentration of work within households, and of its variation in different sections of the society.

Except for the minority counted as "employees," these remaining men were the ones with most opportunity to find work unrestricted (or unaided) by their kinship affiliations—i.e., in something that might approach a "labor market." Yet as late as 1930, over two-thirds of the Taiwanese men in this group still pursued their occupations in the households of their own families (see Table 57). In reality their labor was even more family-centered than this. In the large majority of households the head had some occupation, and there 76.1 per cent of all occupied male family members worked in the same enterprise. The remaining household heads had no occupation themselves, and hence did not operate family enterprises that could claim the services of men in their families. Most of the men in these fam-

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TABLE 57

CONCENTRATION OF EMPLOYMENT WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS, 1930

Per Cent of "Subordinate" Male Family Members (i.e., Excluding the Household Head) Who Were Employed Within Their Households (Taiwanese Households Only, Including Persons Living Alone)

	Per Cent of Employed "Subordinate" Male Family Members Whose Employment Was Inside Their Household
All Households	68.2
Households with Head Occupied	76.1
Households with Head Not Occupied	21.6
Head Occupied in Agriculture*	87.3
Head Occupied Outside Agriculture	34.2
Manufacturing	33.1
Commerce	42.2
Other	26.3

* See note to preceding table.
Source: From *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables, Total Island*, Table 5.

ilies who were occupied found employment outside—only 21.6 per cent of them carried on their work in the family.[19]

Among those households with heads occupied, there were differences just as great between the fields of livelihood that provided support for the households. Farming families kept 87.3 per cent of their subordinate working males occupied at home. It was their numerical weight in the population that made the figure for all occupations so high—in non-agricultural households it was only one-third (see Table 57). The influence of the more modern parts of the economy is indicated by the fact that families engaged in these fields had the greatest proportion of working-out among their eligible men.[20] Of the non-agricultural categories of occupation shown in Table 57, the commercial households came the closest to conforming to the norm exemplified in agriculture.

[19] Literally, the data of Table 57 refer to those working in the "same occupation or same enterprise" as the head of the household. The meaning is not so broad as the literal translation might suggest, because "same occupation" did not mean merely "also in agriculture" or "also in commerce" or some other large category. It means the same type of work in considerable detail—"also a butcher" or "also a bean-curd maker," for example. In nearly every case it probably meant work in the same family enterprise.

[20] Of course, many who worked out may have gone to work for relatives, and still did not enter the labor market.

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Of interest for the sake of comparison are the corresponding data illustrating the variation between different parts of the island (Table 58). In most of the individual Prefectures there were only minor differences in the extent to which employed men in all families (excluding the heads) performed their work at home. The most populous sections seemed uniform in the proportion that were so engaged; the deviations in the two Prefectures on the East Coast (where hardly anyone worked outside of his household), and in P'enghu Islands, did not affect many people. Taipei Prefecture was the significant exception to the rule, for it was the only place with considerable numbers of male workers occupied in extra-familial pursuits.

TABLE 58

CONCENTRATION OF EMPLOYMENT WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS: VARIATION BETWEEN PREFECTURES OF TAIWAN, 1930

Per Cent of Employed "Subordinate" Male Family Members Whose Employment Was Inside Their Households

Name of Prefecture	*All Households*	*Households With Head Occupied*	*Head Occupied in Agriculture**	*Head Occupied Outside Agriculture*	*Head Reporting No Occupation*
Taipei	50.4	59.6	81.8	21.4	10.5
Hsinchu	72.3	79.5	88.5	34.3	19.7
Taichung	71.0	79.1	88.3	36.5	25.6
Tainan	71.6	79.5	88.6	41.6	25.7
Kaohsiung	72.2	78.4	85.7	45.9	26.5
Taitung	95.1	95.8	97.6	52.0	69.9
Hualien	82.5	85.0	91.8	30.5	34.1
P'enghu	64.5	64.5	75.1	54.8	30.7
Total Island	68.2	76.1	87.3	34.2	21.6

* See footnote for Table 56.

Source: From *Census of 1930, Statistical Tables*, by Prefecture (respective Prefectural volumes), Table 5.

The more detailed columns of Table 58 help to clarify the source of the variation. As the site of the capital city and administrative center of the island, and the portion in which Japanese concentrated their efforts in developing modern conveniences and comforts, Taipei had even before 1930 gained many features of distinction over the rest of the island. It was at this time the transportation hub (built around shipping from the port of Chilung, which later de-

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596 clined), the home of one-third of all Japanese, the location of the better educational facilities, the commercial area of most importance for trade in other than farm products, and of course the center of most large government and business offices. Taipei Prefecture, therefore, had proceeded farthest in the spread of non-agricultural activities in its population. Even though a substantial group in this population does not appear in these tables because they were Japanese, the effect of their presence is evident in the way that non-farming occupations were conducted by Taiwanese—all but 21 per cent of the men in such work (excepting the heads of households and people staying in the households of others) were employed away from their families, a proportion less than any other Prefecture and only half the figure in some. Agriculture was much less affected by the unusual character of other pursuits, but it did not go untouched. Though most farmers in Taipei did their work in their own households, they fell somewhat below the mark set by the rest of the agricultural population.[21]

Significantly, in all of the other Prefectures (except P'enghu, which was not of much account in size), agricultural households were nearly uniform in the degree to which they retained the use of services by subordinate men in their families—close to 90 per cent of the men in this category who lived with their families.[22] The principal differences from one Prefecture to another when all households are considered at once, therefore, must have arisen from the prevalence and the mode of organization in activities *outside* of agriculture, for they practically disappear when farming households alone are compared.

592 There can be little doubt that the family system, through its weight
596 in the conduct of household affairs, has furnished the most important social setting for behavior of the Taiwanese. We have not only the testimony of Chinese tradition to support this conclusion, but the corroboration of statistical evidence as well. Practically everyone was a member of some familial household—most were related by

[21] Taipei was the site of tea plantations, which, through a greater use of wage labor, may have been responsible for the deviation from the pattern elsewhere in the island. A plantation might employ men (and actually did employ many women) on a more or less regular basis from several farming households, and leave their services free at some seasons of the year for work in their own fields.

[22] Naturally this does not include those who had left home to enter some other occupation; these would appear as outsiders in some other households or as persons living alone, perhaps in some cases as separate families.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1 •

just north of the Tropic of Cancer—the winters of this coastal area, unlike the interior, are cold and raw while the summers are extremely hot and humid. Winter temperatures seldom fall below the middle forties, but icy winds frequently blow with almost gale force across from the mainland and the Strait of Formosa. Although the area itself never has snow, on a clear January or February day snow-capped peaks of the high interior mountains to the east can be seen from the village.

As in most of Asia, rain is seasonal. Between 80 and 85 percent of the annual rainfall comes during the late spring and summer months (April to September) (Chen, 1950:5).[1] During the heaviest rains and the late summer typhoon season, roads as well as paddy fields are often flooded. In this particular area, frequently the rain alone makes it possible to transplant the rice seedlings, for the irrigation water is often late in reaching the Hsin Hsing area, lying as it does so far from the mountain headwaters. With the passing of the rainy season the weather is relatively dry for the remainder of the year, and all crops depend almost entirely on water from the elaborate irrigation system.

For two decades or more this area has been able to harvest three crops annually. In the irrigated areas two crops of rice are grown; sometimes a vegetable or some other crop is substituted. The third dry crop is usually wheat or sweet potatoes. On dry land, two or possibly three crops a year are grown as well. Such intensive cultivation has been made possible through a favorable climate, irrigation facilities, and an increased availability of chemical fertilizer. It has also come about partially as a result of the population increase, which has provided additional labor to work the available land and to exploit previously undeveloped lands.

Although most of the original inhabitants from the mainland settled on the relatively fertile coastal plain where Hsin Hsing is located, the land resources could not be fully exploited because of their small number. Today, this situation is reversed, and in spite of large-scale irrigation, land scarcity makes it necessary for parts of expanding families, and even whole households, to move to urban centers to find work. Land scarcity in the whole Hsin Hsing area is so severe that even villagers who remain there must go outside the village to earn a livelihood for their families or to supplement the family income. Although the problem may be unusually acute in Hsin Hsing village and in some neighboring villages, it must nevertheless be recognized that it is characteristic of a large part of Taiwan. If the population of the rural areas of the island continues to grow at its present rate, the land scarcity which is now so severe in the Hsin Hsing area will undoubtedly become a major problem for the greater part of the Taiwan countryside.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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THE HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE AND AREA

The village seems to have been founded about 1785. This estimate is based on the five generations of ancestors listed on the ancestral tablets of the family considered by other villagers to be the oldest in Hsin Hsing. The first generation recorded on the master tablet, in each case, is said to be the founder of that particular descent line in the village.

The ancestors of the village, like much of the Taiwanese population, originally came from the Amoy area of Fukien. While the exact origin for the ancestors of most Taiwanese is either the Ch'uan Chou area north of Amoy or the Chang Chou area south of Amoy, almost all the ancestors of the people in the Hsin Hsing village area came from Ch'uan Chou.[9] Some informants believe that their ancestors came from the mainland directly to this village. Others think they might have first lived nearby and then moved into the village. There is almost complete agreement, however, that all the ancestors entered Taiwan through the port city of Lukang, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, which has long played an important role in the life of the area.

Early in the Chinese history of Taiwan—beginning in the middle 1660's—Lukang was an important port city, second only to Tainan to the south. In fact, up to the time of the Japanese occupation of the island, Lukang was a major Taiwanese culture center. It reached its peak of activity from about 1786 to 1851, when it was the chief port of entry for many of the immigrants from the mainland and was of major importance to Taiwan's trade.

In this early period Lukang was a highly urban settlement. The city's prosperity was at its height during the Ch'ing dynasty in the late eighteenth century, when its population reached one hundred thousand. At that time a hundred ships (each ship under forty-seven tons) went in and out of the port every day, and the city's many narrow, cobblestoned streets were flanked by rows of shops selling such commodities as salted and dried fish, cloth, and other products.

In addition to its prominence as a port, Lukang also served as an important labor center and general marketplace for the surrounding area. Men from nearby villages who found that the low yield of the dry, non-irrigated land could not furnish an adequate income found ample opportunity for work in Lukang in the shops or as coolie laborers in the city's port facilities. The livelihood of many of the villagers of the area therefore depended in large part upon their labor in Lukang, and thus the city, only about three miles from Hsin Hsing, very early served as a source of urban influence.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Formosa AD1

With the advent of the Japanese in 1895, Lukang very soon lost its importance as a port, for Japan's plans for the colonization of Taiwan did not include maintaining Lukang as a trade and immigration center. The Japanese set about cutting off the movement of people and goods between Taiwan and the mainland, and, to divert the colony's trade from China to Japan, they built the port of Keelung in northern Taiwan (Barclay, 1954b:12, 18–42). The demise of Lukang both as a port and as a major urban center was hastened by the silting up of the harbor, which had begun even before the coming of the Japanese. As a result of Japanese indifference to Lukang as a port, the harbor soon became unusable.

The final blow by which the Japanese doomed Lukang's importance was the routing of the extensive west coast railroad system far from Lukang. The city could then neither be maintained as a major market town nor as a point of trans-shipment for the area's produce. Its decline as an urban center and as an influence on the surrounding area was reflected in an accompanying population decrease from one hundred thousand in the late eighteenth century to fifty-one thousand in 1954 (*Women te Lukang Chen*, 1954). The decrease took place despite the high rate of population growth in the rest of Taiwan.

Today, Lukang stands several miles from the sea, a city much diminished in size and importance. It offers little economic opportunity for its inhabitants, and despite some light industry, few village people are employed there. Nevertheless, although it is now a small, out-of-the-way city, it offers nearby villagers a convenient local marketplace and a center for some entertainment. Most important, it still functions as a religious center. From the earliest times the Chinese immigrants brought their gods with them from the mainland to Taiwan. These gods and goddesses, such as Matsu, became firmly established as important deities in Taiwan; the Matsu temple in Lukang is believed by the people of the area to be the oldest or second oldest Matsu temple on the island. For this reason Lukang is still one of the most important focal points for the religious pilgrimages of those who maintain loyalty to the Goddess Matsu.

The historical picture of this area at the time of the late Ch'ing dynasty comes from data furnished by older or better educated residents of the area and several local Chinese and Japanese gazetteers.[3] These various sources were used, wherever possible, to corroborate one another. The sources note that in the late nineteenth century the area was sparsely populated and that its inhabitants lived in constant fear of bandits. Up to the early part of the twentieth century dry farming produced most of the staples grown, since there was only a very limited system of irrigation. Crops like wheat, soybeans, sorghum, sweet potatoes, peanuts, a plant used to make dye for cloth, and broom grass were

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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lists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

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After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

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LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred